1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

of stories, and such beliefs explain why parents fear to permit children to wander out of the house after dark. If an object is lost or inexplicably moved from one place to another, a *witranalwe* is held to blame.

Añchimallen is similar to *witranalwe*, except that it originates from the corpse of a child. In addition to being small an *añchimallen* can only go afoot, which means that its range of travel is greatly restricted. People say that an *añchimallen* may sometimes be glimpsed as a will-o-the-wisp.[4]

Despite the prevalence of such beliefs, it is important to note that the spirits of the dead are not looked upon as harmful and are not feared unless witches convert them into *witranalwes* or *añchimallens*.

Most common of all the activities for which sorcerers are held directly responsible are those causing sickness and death. Like many primitive people, the Araucanians are unwilling to accept death as natural, but attribute all deaths to witchcraft. Latcham thinks that an exception is made for those dying of wounds received while fighting,[5] but that all other kinds of violent or accidental deaths are thought to be somehow engineered or brought about by the agency of sorcerers.

Two types of irregular behavior or insanity are differentiated by some of the Mapuche. One kind, *wesa loñko* ("bad head"), refers to any sort of extravagant conduct, such as that of a person who is extremely lewd. The other kind, lunacy or paranoia, is termed *wedwed*, and is usually held to be caused by witches.

When an enemy wants to have some one bewitched, the most common procedure is to furnish a *kal·ku* with a bit of matter (for example, feces, saliva, hair, or saliva-moistened food) which was once intimately connected with the body of the intended victim. Menstrual blood, fresh or dried, is particularly potent, especially if the supply is built up over a period of several months. For this reason girls are warned to be very wary

[4] Further details on these topics may be obtained from Guevara, 1898, pp. 222 ff.; Latcham, 1924, pp. 770–823; and Métraux, 1939, pp. 329–32.

[5] Latcham, 1924, p. 741.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

belief a myth sprung up. During a thunderstorm the Indians looked anxiously towards the sky to see which way the clouds were drifting, showing signs of contentment if they were driven towards the north. They supposed that these tempests represented battles between those of their race and their Spanish oppressors. If the clouds drifted southwards they supposed that their people were being driven back, but if on the contrary they were blown in a northerly direction they rejoiced at the defeat of their enemies.

Pillan was served by malignant spirits called *Hueruves*, who possessed the power of transforming themselves into any shape they wished in order to work evil. To drive them away from their dwellings the Araucanos burnt branches of *canelo*, their sacred tree. To their influences were imputed many of their sicknesses, especially those which were not easily diagnosed. They were, in these cases, supposed to produce invisible wounds with invisible arrows. To them also were attributed all the natural phenomena, when they occurred at inopportune moments, or brought in their train any unfavourable results; as, for instance, rain in harvest-time, blight or diseases in their crops, lameness or sickness among their stock, and in general all those accidents that they could not ascribe to a direct agency. Other servants of Pillan were the *Cherruve*, figured as snakes with human heads. These genii were the originators of the comets and shooting stars, considered to be the forerunners of death, or of terrible calamities to those villages in whose direction they shot.

Another of their deities was *Meulen* (whirlwind), the god of the winds. He was figured as a lizard who disappeared into the earth when the whirlwind broke up.

The moon, *Auchimalguen* (wife of the sun), was their only beneficent deity. She protected and advised them of any disaster, showing them their enemies, and frightening away the evil spirits. This is easily understood when one remembers that night attacks are seldom undertaken on moonlight nights, and that most savages have a great fear of the dark when alone. It also accounts for the faith placed in the signs of the moon, whose phases were always consulted in their principal undertakings. A red moon was considered to be a sign of the death of some important personage. What is curious, especially if we consider their contact with the Incas, is that the sun has no place in their religious beliefs.

Nguruvilu, the water god, or spirit of the rivers and lakes, takes the form of a wild cat, with a long tail terminating in a terrible claw. Any accident that happens to the Indians while in or on the water is attributed to him.

Another god was *Huenillepangi*, the spirit of the mist. He appeared as a sheep with a calf's head and a seal's hind quarters, and was only seen on the banks of rivers, lakes, or the sea coast. When a child was born deformed in any way, it was put down to his influence.

Among the minor gods or evil spirits may be mentioned the following: *Cheuchenyi*, a human head whose ears served as wings, a species of vampire who hovered round the dwellings of the sick. If they were left unguarded he entered

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

and struggled with them (convulsions). If he conquered he sucked the patient's life blood.

Colo-colo (cockatrice) generated from a cock's egg, caused fever and death by extracting the saliva from his victim. *Pihuchenyi*, or winged snake, sucked the blood of anyone found sleeping in the woods by night.

The *Am*, or ghosts of the dead, who appeared to the living, distinguished from the *Pillí* already mentioned, who were the ghosts or other self of the living. They also believed that their chiefs returned to visit the haunts of their relatives in the form of humble-bees.

All their trials and adversities, even the most trivial, were set down to the malignity of evil spirits.

Religion had very little effect on Araucano morals, and fear of a future punishment was unknown to them. Any kind of worship or religious rite was also unknown, and only in time of great adversity, as of drought, famine or plague, was any offering or propitiatory sacrifice made.

They believed in a future state, but hell had no place in their beliefs. After death they went in an invisible, but corporeal, form to the other world, where the evil spirits had no entry, where there was always abundance, and where they passed their time feasting and drinking and dancing, waited on by their wives, who had either preceded them or would follow after. The same castes were preserved there as on earth, but the poor people and the public women went to another land where it was always cold. Here also there was abundance to eat and drink, but of the poorest quality, and as before the men were waited on by the women. To arrive at their future resting place it was necessary to cross the sea. For this reason the dead are buried facing the west. Before arriving at this happy land they had a long journey to make. So that they should want nothing on this journey, a good supply of provisions, blankets, skins, etc., were buried with the corpse, and a horse was either buried also or slaughtered over the grave.

The island of Mocha was formerly believed to be the starting place for this long trip. Spirits of the dead had to follow a narrow path, guarded by a witch, who collected tribute from all passers. Even now the Araucanos bury some few coins or other objects with the dead to discharge this obligation.

The coast tribes believed that certain witches transformed themselves into whales to ferry them from the mainland to the island, while the inland tribes supposed that they changed into canoes. Many of these beliefs have been modified since the race has been in contact with Christianity, which, however, has made little headway among them, probably because they cannot even conceive of, much less understand, the principal dogmas and tenets of a highly developed religion.

The stories of numerous converts are inexplicable to one who has probed the Indian's mode of thought and state of intellect. At most they can be only nominally Christians, accepting certain moral ideas and outward forms, such as baptism, crosses in their burial grounds, etc., and all that appeals to the senses,

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

[756] Of late years he has gradually absorbed the attributes of the higher professions, especially after the final conquest of 1884, since when the Indians have become more peaceful and settled. This profession is common to the two sexes, the learner graduating after a long apprenticeship to some well-established *machi*. The principal accomplishments are a profound knowledge of medicinal herbs, with which the forests and plains abound, a slight acquaintance with surgery, a considerable mastery of simple conjuring tricks, and the talent of ventriloquism. Many never attained to this last art and had resource to darkness and a different modulation of voice, which served the purpose equally well, although it was less dramatic.

The following is a list of the chief instruments of the profession :—

The *qucupa* or lancet; a small pointed flint, similar in shape to a small arrow head, fastened to a wooden handle.

The *troquitus*, a small three-cornered stone which they pretended to pass through the body of the patient. If it came out clean the sick person would recover, but if it were stained with blood, the case was hopeless.

The *cutra*, or stone pipe, which played an important part in their cures.

The *ihue*, or wooden spitting bowl, into which the *machi* expectorated the humours sucked from the body of the sick.

The *trones*, or dish, in which the remedies were prepared.

The *gatuhue*, or syringe, used for clysters, composed of a bladder and bone tube.

The chief of all, however, and without which no *machi* begins his operations, is the *ralicultrun*, or drum, inside of which are carried small white stones, *lican*, to which healing powers are attributed.

The *machis* are accompanied by two or more helpers or apprentices, *llaucanyi*. During the greater part of the *machitun*, or healing, they play on *puvileus*, or shrill reed pipes, while the *machi* beats the drum and chants a low monotonous tune, at intervals breaking into a dance and hopping from one foot to the other, swaying his body and head now to this side, now to that, keeping time to the compass of the music. Meanwhile the crowd, who have assembled, keep up a shouting to frighten away the evil spirits that they believe are waiting round the dwelling, to carry off the soul of the sick person.

[757] The curing of the sick is effected partly by exorcisms, and partly by manipulations and remedies.

It has already been mentioned that all diseases and sickness were supposed to be caused by the malevolence of evil spirits or by witchcraft. As a consequence the ceremony of exorcising partakes of the nature of a religious rite, the gods being invoked to combat the influence of the sorcery. It does not strike them as incongruous thus to invoke the aid of their deities against the acts of their own ministers or servants.

756 753 The direct cause of the illness is supposed to be either an invisible wound or some extraneous substance introduced into the body of the patient. This foreign

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

element has to be extracted. For this purpose the *machi* goes provided with a worm, grub, beetle, lizard, or other small creature that can easily be hidden, and made to appear as if taken from the sick person.

If the patient dies, the *machi* saves his responsibility by declaring that he has been poisoned, and then proceeds to discover the poisoner.

To avoid feuds and reprisals, the blame was generally cast on a *huecuvu*, who had taken the form of some living creature, revealed to the *machi* in a trance, but was sometimes imputed to some individual against whom the exorcist had a grudge, or else to a known enemy of the deceased or his family. In such a case a hunt was made for the guilty person, and if caught he was burnt alive. Olivares, one of the Spanish chroniclers, described one of these executions:—

"Three stakes were driven into the ground in the form of a triangle. The victim was tied to one of them, which was stouter than the others, his hands fastened behind his back. His feet were fastened to the other two with thongs thus forcing his legs apart, obliging him to assume a sitting position. A fire was lighted between his thighs, which burnt them, his vitals, breast and face. Meanwhile he was demanded to confess his crime and declare his accomplices."

Guevara adds that they sometimes rubbed the victim's body with fat, to cause him greater torment. This led to reprisals on the part of the relatives, and was a frequent cause of intertribal warfare.

The *machis* have no hard and fast ritual for these ceremonies, but each one introduces the innovations he considers necessary. Their huts are known by the branch of *canelo* planted before the door, from which hangs the drum, symbol of their office.

Paderasty was common among the *machis* and still is to a certain extent, though not so much as formerly. Those who exercise the office are called *hueya*. They do not wear the chamal, but a skin apron, called *punus*, which is a sign of their calling. They wear their hair long, and use feminine ornaments. They were formerly greatly respected for their double functions, but now are despised by many of the Indians.

Under the heading of Ceremonies will be found a more detailed account of the *machitun* or witch hunting.

Morals.—There being no idea of sin, or future punishment for evil doing, religion exercises a very slight influence on the Araucano code of morals. The Indian's ideas of right or wrong must therefore be judged from a standpoint different from those of Christian races. Two facts of the utmost importance must be taken into account in forming an estimate of this question.

First: the wife is considered the absolute property of the husband, and he can dispose of her as he thinks fit, even to killing her, without anyone interfering any more than they would at the disposal of his other property. Secondly: the father possesses the right of life or death over his children, as they are part of his own flesh. If a father slew his child, they said that he was spilling his own blood. The same idea held good if a son killed his father.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Mapuche-Huilliche chau, "father," with "father" (Guinnard, 1864, p. 147), chachao (Mansilla, 1877, 2:32), expected to look after them "as a father" (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 48); Buta-gen, as supra. And on both sides of the Andes the Supreme Being was not concerned with the moral order (cf. supra).

In the light of the foregoing evidence, the Supreme Being concept can be clearly traced back a century and a half and probably two centuries, and shows from the first certain suggestively aboriginal features. But even before the middle 18th century, the *Araucanians* had been open for two centuries to much European influence from captives, missionaries, and other acculturational agents. (See supra, p. 696). In the light of the evidence on both sides, the chances for aboriginal or European origin of the *Araucanian* Supreme Being belief seem close to even, with perhaps a slightly greater probability that we have to do with an aboriginal belief which has been appreciably developed and pointed up as a result of White influence.

So far as the ŋillatun rite itself is concerned, apart from and waiving the question of the prayers to the Supreme Being therein, its characteristic features appear as definitely aboriginal and peculiar to the *Araucanians*, and some of them, such as the use of the sacred *Drimys winteri* and the (sacrificial) killing of animals, can be traced back through our dated historical sources as far as the earlier decades following the Contact. The ensemble of the modern rite may, of course, be much more recent.

One other principal *Araucanian* rite, the new year rite, Wunn tripantu, was held at the winter solstice (June 21; latterly on St. John's day, June 24), and was characterized by a long ceremonial bath which all the group, young and old, took in a nearby stream; by the public sacrifice of a lamb; by prayers to Rañiñhuenu (lit. "zenith," a name for Supreme Being: Félix José, 1916, 1:193) for general welfare during the year; and by an obligatory rest (Christian influence?) from work throughout the day (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1063–64).

The Pillañ cult.—In contrast to ŋenéchen, who was associated with and appealed to mostly for food and long life, Pillañ (Pillan) was pretty consistently associated in our sources from at least the first half of the 17th century on (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 286; cf. Febrés, 1882, s. v.) with dramatic catastrophic natural phenomena, such as volcanic eruptions, thunder and lightning, river floods, tidal waves, etc. The crops, too, according to one tradition, were under the protection of Pillañ (Félix José, 1916, 1:181). According to Sors (1921, p. 184), epidemics were attributed to Pillañ's anger. We do not seem to have any information on what was supposed to arouse Pillañ's ire. Data, too, on the cult of Pillañ are meager and scattered. According to Marcgrav (1648, p. 286), Pillañ was appealed to by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* to destroy their enemies, and tobacco smoke was blown in

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

787 many, but the bird is seen by no one." "In Queule a machi was locked up by Chilean policemen because a choñchoñi flew round and round a place, trying to get in. It was worrying the people."

● [753] 754 All ill health, both physical and mental, it is believed, is due to the spirit of sickness, which is inflicted by a sorcerer upon someone against whom there is ill will. The sorcerer may be a machi (certain machi are sorcerers) or an outright witch, known as a kalku. The ill will may be the sorcerer's own, or that of a person who has hired the sorcerer. If a medium is used, no one but the sorcerer knows what it is. Many suspect it is the choñchoñi. One instance was related in wh[illegible] the medium was known. "My wife's sickness [abdominal tumor] was inflicted upon her by a machi," said a man. "Here is how it was done: a neighbor woman [26 years old] cut off two opposite corners of my wife's chamall, and the machi used these to bring sickness upon my wife." Another instance was related in which the medium was not known. Four girls of two families were known to be jealous of a young woman because a man had married her and not one of them. When the young woman became sick her family accused these four girls of hiring a kalku to bring sickness upon her, and intended to hire a machi to discover whether these were the culprits. "Certain machi, you know, have the powers to make such discoveries."

In general, it is believed that the spirit of sickness is transferred from a sick person to one that is well. Two schoolboys, when questioned by their teacher one morning for the reason of their bruised faces, merely cast angry looks at each other. Girls in the school volunteered the information that the two boys had had an angry fist fight on the way home from school the previous afternoon. One of the boys then said, "Yes, when my mother was sick and we had the machitun made for her at our home, his father was there." "Yes," interrupted the second boy, "he was even good enough to help your family pay the machi by donating 10 pesos toward the price of your machitun." "Yes," said the first boy, "and then when your sister died, your family said that the machi took the devil of sickness out of my mother and put it into your sister."

Kalku were known to bring about an immediate death, or a prolonged sickness with gradual loss of vitality and weight and ultimate death, by putting poison into food or drink. Araucanians themselves warned non-Araucanians who worked among them not to drink milk or eat milk products, such as cheese; for an Araucanian with ill will might have put poison into the milk—neither taste nor eye could discern it. They were advised, too, not to eat eggs given to them by Araucanians, unless the eggs had been stored for three days. Poisoned

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

to certain other reservations in the neighborhood via the elders of their constituent lineages, the extension serving as a partial definition of membership in any ritual congregation. Within the congregation there tend to be several nuclei, the reservations of which take annual responsibility for staging their own *ñillatun*. Invitations are extended throughout the congregation. As a geographical and social entity, the congregation has its periphery, consisting of those units which may participate with more or less equal frequency in the ceremonies of two congregational units. Disregarding other implications of this phenomenon, I merely call attention to the fact that there is thus formed a chain of congregational units, overlapping on their peripheries, which binds together total Mapuche society in a single expression of religious morality.

Many of the reservations which comprise any ritual congregation are also linked by bonds of marriage among them, in the matrilateral framework described in the previous chapter. Since polygyny — which seems to have been conducive to the establishment of far-reaching marriage links — has declined in frequency, the effectively marriage-linked reservations tend to correlate closely with the extension of the ritual congregation. The extension of performance rights and obligations to in-married women involves the various wife-giving and wife-receiving sets in a single ritual entity, a structure of reciprocal rights and duties.

This is not the place to present the ethnographic data which are necessary to explicate the nature of the correlation between the matrilateral marriage system and the ritual congregation. Both religious activities and marriage patterns have changed since the Mapuche became established on reservations. A resultant phenomenon of these changes is that the lineages involved in intermarriage and ritual action have tended to coincide. A crucial point to be made here, however, is that there can not be a complete correspondence between the extension of marriage units and congregational units — unless the Mapuche system of religious morality were to become transformed into a quite different system. This is the case because marriage-linked non-congregational lineages serve the important function of scapegoats in placing the blame for homicidal sorcery. Death and illness are supernaturally induced, through the agency of *kalku* and *wekufe*. Blame for death by witchcraft, insofar as it is attached to *kalku* rather than to the free-floating forces of evil, is generally placed outside the ritual congregation, usually with a group which is connected to that of the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

world is fraught with supernatural peril. All serious illness, for example, is supernaturally induced. The good man is aware of the general threat and is able to circumvent its specific manifestations ritually. There is nothing haphazard about the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. Strategy is institutionalized and weapons are of the same calibre in both camps. This makes for an interminable struggle.

The dead visit the living. They are seen in dreams, in lifelike form, or as birds or other creatures of good or bad omen. They are also seen in waking moments, but only as distorted images of their former selves, or in nonhuman guise. They are ever-watchful, ready to do good if properly summoned but, if unpropitiated, they may return to earth and fall victim to sorcerers, becoming contaminated and evil. Ancestors must always be treated with utmost respect and care. Uncontaminated spirits of the dead are fundamentally good, once they have made a ritually perfect departure from Mapucheland; but they are capable of great evil if, because of some failure in the funeral rite, they are forced to linger around the grave or near the house. It is the most recently departed spirit which is particularly susceptible to the machinations of *kalku*. Its transition from the world of the living to the haven of the dead is the central concern of the funeral congregation, the major theme of the burial services, and the rationale for drunken communion.

The dead are a part of and yet apart from the world of the living. They comprise a special and sacred segment of Mapuche society. They must be approached reverentially, in an impeccable ritual manner, by the correct persons on the proper ritual occasions. Ritual appeal to ancestral spirits covers a range of activity, from that of the great agricultural fertility rite (*ñillatun*) to the simple personal offering of a handful of maize or wheat flour on a small fire outside the family dwelling. The approach varies with the situation and the specific motivation of the suppliants.

In analyzing the relationship between the living and the dead, it is always necessary to keep in mind that there are one's own direct ancestors, collateral ancestors, affinally related ancestors, nonrelatives, and the very important category of generalized Mapuche ancestors, the latter forming a lower echelon in the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

for the *shompalwe*, and after once killing their first victim they become insatiable, continually on the prowl to obtain victims.

Visions of departed kinsmen in dreams do not necessarily mean one will become ill, as I have already indicated, but they do have an unsettling effect on the dreamer. Dreams of good omen are discussed with relatives, whose agreement is sought that the dream is without doubt a good one. Because there is nearly always some feeling that ancestors could have been treated better in life and propitiated more often and with more care in death, people tend to feel unsure of their appearance in dreams. If there is not full agreement about the import of a dream, a person usually pours frequent libations and offers personal prayers to his ancestors, and one might even seek the counsel of a shaman before the ill effects of the dream are actually experienced. There is a margin of safety present, since the effect of a bad dream as well as that of all black magic works slowly. One, therefore, has to have recurrent dreams of ill omen, or has to be repeatedly exposed to magical forces, before illness takes firm hold. However, an individual who deliberates on his evil fortune is prone to interpret minor ailments as serious ones and actually sickens from fear. The shaman, then, is the only available recourse.

Key Origin Myths

Mapuche mythology is rich and varied, pan-Mapuche myths having many local expressions. I have selected three myths from this large inventory in order to show particularly the fundamental nature of Mapuche mythology and to indicate how this relates (as it does not in all cases) to notions of morality—good, evil, and redemption.

The import of local variation is sociological rather than culturological. The basic theme of the first myth, that of Tren Tren and Kai Kai, variations on which are reported in all important works on the Mapuche, is common knowledge to all Mapuche. The local expressions or variations involve the fabrication of linkage between contemporary Mapuche and their supposed ancestral progenitors, the founders of the Mapuche "race." This fabrication is of the same order as genealogical manipulation, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is a binding

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

machi. The latter is often called upon to assist at difficult births, if she is known to be especially skilled at delivery. In this role, the performance is not essentially magical, although an initial incantation is made to insure success. The *machi* is called in on these occasions to provide practical knowledge in delivery—infusion of herbs, massage, and so forth. As her reputation grows so does her clientele.

Illness is attributed to the persistence of evil forces, since the *wekufe* are always with one in any case; thus when recovery is delayed and death seems to threaten, a *machi* is called in. The young man who had the operation on his head had gone to see a Chilean doctor in town, but when his headaches and nausea did not ease he consulted the blind *machi*, whom he was certain would at least deal with the *wekufe* even though success was not assured. Their indifference to Mapuche notions of illness and their obvious inability to deal with the forces of evil have worked against Chilean doctors' influence in Mapucheland.

Supernaturally induced, illness may come from intrusion into the person of some malignant quality or object. These intrusions are associated with certain signs or symptoms, which, if not already apparent to the patient, are revealed to him by the *machi*. Dreams, omens, contacts with *witranalwe*, and so forth, all may give rise to illness. Examples of bad omens are the following: the death of a tree in an orchard, a tree flowering after bearing fruit, one's falling down and sitting on the ground, evidence of dampness under the bed, a hen crowing like a cock, and all the evidence for the presence of forces of evil mentioned already. In dreams, having one's hair cut is a sign of poverty and hardship. Being shaven, walking barefoot, falling from a tree, having teeth pulled, being arrested by the police—all these dreams presage sickness of one kind or another. These dreams are discussed by the people, and the discussion either serves to dispel fear or reinforce it to such an extent that the person becomes worried enough to consult a *machi*. Since shamanistic curing is always costly, it is not a thing which is undertaken lightly. Then, too, *machi* are not visited professionally without good reason, for they are somewhat feared. The *machi* will clarify dreams or omens and recommend herbal remedies. This is about the simplest curing technique and involves no magical

[1.e. the machi -- Analyst]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

755 corner of the house looking directly at me. Nobody else saw it.
756 I was too sick to tell them it was there. It wore a coffee-colored
159 chamal wrapped around it, long hair which reached almost to
787 the ground, and it was very ugly. It was no more than two feet high.

When I finally told my father that I had seen the anchimallen, he became very excited and wanted to recall the machi. The others told him it would be better to wait for the priest, since the machi would not return to the house where she was insulted. My father compromised. He said that he wanted to get me out of the house, away from the anchimallen, to another house where the machi would visit if the priest failed to come. They carried me to my uncle's house, which was nearby. It is there that the priest came to see me the next day. After talking to the priest and taking the medicine he gave me, I never saw the anchimallen again. The priest chased it away with the cross and the Bible. I have never seen the wekufe since.

755 The greatest danger in all cases of serious illness is "soul-
[753] loss." Because of the weakened condition of the person in either illness or sleep, the soul (*am*) is exposed to the forces of evil, which may capture it. Fever is often felt to be caused by the grappling between the soul and these extraneous forces. The *machi* dispels the evil, reduces the fever. First she diagnoses the exact cause of illness. The exactness of diagnosis is one thing which serves to differentiate her from other practitioners, such as *matronas* and Chilean doctors. If the *wekufe* possess the body, the *machi* drives them out. If they have captured the soul, she recovers it if possible. This is initiated by incantation.
[782] *Nenechen* is prayed to and the *machi*'s familiars (*pillan*) are pressed into service through her power, or at least through her sensitivity and her ability to commune with them.

[753] Soul-loss, therefore, is considered the most serious of all illness, because especially strong power is needed to retrieve the soul from the hands of the *kalku* before it is contaminated and irrevocably lost. Protecting the soul from falling into the *kalku*'s power is a different kind of task, signalized by the recovery of
755 someone from a lesser illness. One case in which a *machi* failed
159 to retrieve the soul of her patient was described to me by a
756 forty-year-old man. I relate it below in much abbreviated form.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

754 [28] sorcery, as these apply to different social groupings in Mapuche society.

[178] [753] On inquiring into the prevalance of witchcraft, I was sometimes told that people nowadays regard the usual illnesses as a result of natural causes, but in all cases this statement was refuted by the unguarded statements and actions of the very informants who provided this sophisticated judgment. Such a reversal itself speaks for the prevalence of a concern with sorcery. If in fact the fear of sorcery has diminished, its incidence in the past must have been astounding. I can say that roughly 20 percent of the population (at least 50 percent of the adults) on each of the five reservations I studied in detail had at one time or another used sorcery to gain advantage over others. On two other reservations, one that had been divided recently into severalty holdings, and another which was undergoing division, almost 75 percent of the adult population had been accused openly, or themselves had levied charges, of sorcery. Most of the charges were made by women against other women, and on each reservation there was at least one old crone whom nearly everybody suspected of being a witch. The intensity of feeling apparently rose and fell according to whether there seemed to be renewed cause for suspicion. Nearly every adult [756] female above the age of forty had visited a *machi* at least once in her life, some women fifteen or twenty times, although I am not certain if all such visits were for the purpose of getting supernatural cures against sorcery. I suspect that sometimes no more than medicinal remedies were sought. While it is very difficult to obtain information about the number of people who have engaged the services of a *kalku* or have themselves practiced witchcraft, it is a relatively simple matter to tabulate the number of times each person engaged the services of a *machi* for cure or protection. Although this is no more than indirect evidence of the prevalence of witchcraft, it indicates that nearly every person who reaches maturity has some experience with the supernatural which requires shamanistic assistance.

754 578 571 Mapuche achieve some measure of integration by picturing themselves prey to out-group sorcerers, whether the point of reference be the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reserva-